When Captain J. Grant Duff was writing his *History of the Mahrattas* (published in 3 vols. in 1826), the veteran scholar-statesman Mountstuart Elphinstone, in a letter to him (20th April, 1822) exactly described the character of the materials then available for a life of Shivaji: "Your difficulty was to get at facts and combine them with judgment, so as to make a consistant and rational history out of a mass of gossiping bakhars and gasconading tawārikhs." These two sources of admittedly dubious value were supplemented by the English factory records, which Grant Duff rightly declared to be "very important for fixing dates, and invaluable in corroborating facts admitted by native authorities."

Four classes of sources unknown to Grant Duff have now filled up many gaps in our knowledge and proved his narrative of Shivaji's career obsolete and erroneous in many points. *(a)* The contemporary French and Portuguese MS. sources are now available for the first time, thanks to the opening of the Paris archives (*sc.* the Mémoires of Francois Martin) and the scholarly and devoted work of Chevalier P.S. Pissurlencar among the Goa records. The original history of Manucci has been made accessible in W. Irvine's masterly translation, the *Storia do Mogor*. The travellers' tales in the printed French and Dutch works to which Orme referred with justifiable disappointment, can be totally rejected now. *(b)* The skeleton chronologies (*Shakāvalis*) in Marāthi supply many reliable dates and facts, after they have been tested with care and a knowledge of other sources. The 91-qalmi bakhar is a much earlier and less legendary work than the Chitnis bakhar (1810) on which Grant Duff so frequently depended, with the result of falsifying his narrative of Shivaji in many places. *(c)* The same misfortune attended Grant Duff in connection with his Persian authorities. He used the very late (1735) and traditional history of Khāfi Khan, which must be now rejected equally with the Chitnis bakhar. And he had no knowledge of the detailed and absolutely contemporary official histories of Aurangzib (*viz.* Alamgir-nāmah and Māsir-i-Alamgīrī), the Court newsletters (*ākhbārāt*), the

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personal memoirs of Bhimsen, and the letters of Jai Singh,—all of which are in Persian and have been fully utilized by me in this work. (d) The Persian and Dingal despatches and letters preserved in Jaipur. To these must be added three contemporary Sanskrit historical poems on Shivaji, which have been printed in our own days.

A synthesis of this vast and varied mass of new materials, made available during the century following the publication of Grant Duff’s book, has naturally resulted in the supersession of his chapters on Shivaji on the one hand and of the Marathi bakhars (with the exception of the contemporary recollections of Sabhasad) on the other, both of which had so long held the field. The same has been found to be the case in respect of the history of Shambhuji and Rajaram, which I have reconstructed in my Aurangzib, volumes 4 and 5, and the history of his father Shāhji, which I have newly told in my House of Shivaji.

The critical bibliography at the end of this book discusses the character of the materials that have been rejected as well as that of the authorities followed by me.

Fourth edition (Feb. 1948).—In the present edition full use has been made of the materials brought to light during the nineteen years that have passed since the third edition was printed. The most important of these new sources—and in every respect, historical documents of unique value,—are the Jaipur records relating to Shivaji which were brought to light in 1939, and which have compelled a rewriting of the chapter on Shivaji’s interview with Aurangzib and his captive life in Agra. More Portuguese sources have been published during this interval, and they light up Shahji’s activities in 1634 and Shivaji’s doings in South Konkan and Kanara. The Shivaji birth-tercentenary held by two differing schools in 1927 and 1930 in Bombay and Puna respectively, has borne fruit in the intensive publication of letters, chronologies and studies in the Marathi language, which have helped me to make a fresh examination of many facts and views contained in my earlier editions. Though I have seen no reason to accept many of the conclusions reached by modern Maratha writers on these materials, the sources thus published have advanced the scholarly investigation of Shivaji’s times a good deal, and some of the volumes (especially the Patra-sūr-sangraha, or chronological
calendar of letters etc. in 3 vols.) will be always helpful to students of history.

In addition to incorporating in the present edition what I hold to be genuine among the newly published materials, I have subjected my book to a minute revision and removed a number of small errors due to hurry in preparing the press copy of the third edition. The variorum *Qalmi Bakhar*, published by V. S. Wakaskar (Baroda, 1930) has been here extensively utilised, and therefore all references to its Persian version, the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, which was cited up to the third edition, have been omitted.

The aggregate result of these changes is that in this edition a new presentation of the young Shivaji has been given (ch. 2, § 4 and 8), the Jâvli and Purandar episodes and also Shahji’s captivity (1648-49) entirely rewritten (ch. 2 § 11-13 and App.), the Afzal Khan affair more fully explored, the accounts of Shivaji’s audience with Aurangzib and captive life in Agra entirely reconstructed (ch. 6), more details have been given of Netâji Pâlkar’s life as a forced convert, the second coronation of Shivaji with Tantrik rites has been added as an entirely new story (ch. 9 § 7), his battles with Khawâs Khan and Bâji Ghorparé near Kudâl have been described in greater and more correct detail (ch. 10 § 4), and his dealings with the Portuguese amplified (ch. 14 § 9.) The bibliography has been recast and brought up to date, while the Index has been expanded.

The Marathas were only one among the many threads in the tangled web of Deccan history in the seventeenth century. Therefore, to understand the true causes and full consequences of Shivaji’s own acts and policy, it is necessary to have a detailed knowledge of the internal affairs of the Mughal empire, Bijapur and Golkonda also. The present work is, therefore, more than a mere biography of Shiva; it frequently deals with the contemporary history of these three Muslim States, though an exhaustive treatment of the subject finds its proper place in my *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV. I have printed in a separate volume entitled *The House of Shivaji* (2nd ed. 1948), most of the documents, discussions, and *pieces justificatives* relating to my life of Shivaji, and that work should be studied as a necessary supplement to this.
Fifth edition (Dec. 1952.)

The chief additions in this edition are a full description of Shivaji's ships and naval bases, a Muslim historian's statement that Afzal Khan first struck Shivaji out of a proud design to prove himself "a Bahadur", the succession intrigues in Shivaji's court three years before his death, which explain Shambhuji's desertion to the Mughal side, the disputation between Shivaji and his step-brother for the division of their father's legacy, and new Portuguese information on the Siddis and the Maratha navy. The fragmentary Sanskrit poem of Paramanand discovered in Kolhapur and recently edited by G. S. Sardesai in the Baroda Oriental Series with a Foreword by me, has been fully utilised and this has enabled a human story of Shivaji's domestic life to be constructed. The birth of the last Hindu navy has been studied with the fulness of detail and criticism which the importance of this subject to New India demands. The unceasing kindness of Chevalier Panduranga S. S., Pissurlencar has been supplying me with every scrap of original information on Shivaji and his neighbours that his lifelong search among the State and Church records of Goa has been yielding. The new material has led to an increase of the size of this book by 19 pages.

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